

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

INDIA: ACID TEST OF OUR DEMOCRACY

**STUART
MORRIS**
on
OPTIMISM
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Independence Demanded **A Pacifist Commentary**

Early in the New Year Indian affairs are expected to reach a crisis, for India was dragged into the war without being consulted.

Yet, since 1927, the Indian National Congress has stressed "the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate" in any war "without their express permission."

Now, therefore, it is being asked whether we shall show towards India that concern for freedom and democracy for which we claim to be fighting.

In the following article a writer with an intimate knowledge of the problems involved explains the background to the present deadlock and shows the lines along which a solution must be sought.

By CARL HEATH

THE root of so much of the trouble between India and ourselves lies in the old imperial manner we cannot seem able to divest ourselves of. The beginning of the present war affords a striking example.

The new Constitution of 1935, only so far implemented in respect to provincial government, brought into being eleven provincial electorates, legislatures and governments. Modern British India is self-governing in these Provinces. And all India has now for years been expecting the application, in one form or another, of the unification of India in a federal system with an Indian Government of India. And with this, the attainment within a brief time of, the same independence that belongs to the free Dominions. Indeed this Dominion status, long promised and reiterated as promise, by Viceroys and Secretaries of State alike, is long overdue as essential fact.

Now in this setting came the War, and a highly sensitive political situation received a violent shock when, following the old imperial way, India was declared at war with Germany by a decision reached in Whitehall!

Allowed No Voice

Seven-tenths of the British Empire that is, had no voice allowed concerning its willingness, or otherwise, to follow Great Britain into the struggle. All its forces were thrown into the war without any attempt to secure the assent of the Indian political parties and the eleven established Governments. Yet these are days when the theory, that all the Commonwealth is at war when Great Britain is, no longer holds. Eire, next door, is neutral, and South Africa is divided. But both have complete freedom to decide their own course.

The psychological error committed in thus ignoring India's consent was immense. There was no question but that all India was anti-Nazi. But, as Mr. Nehru wrote in the *News Chronicle*:

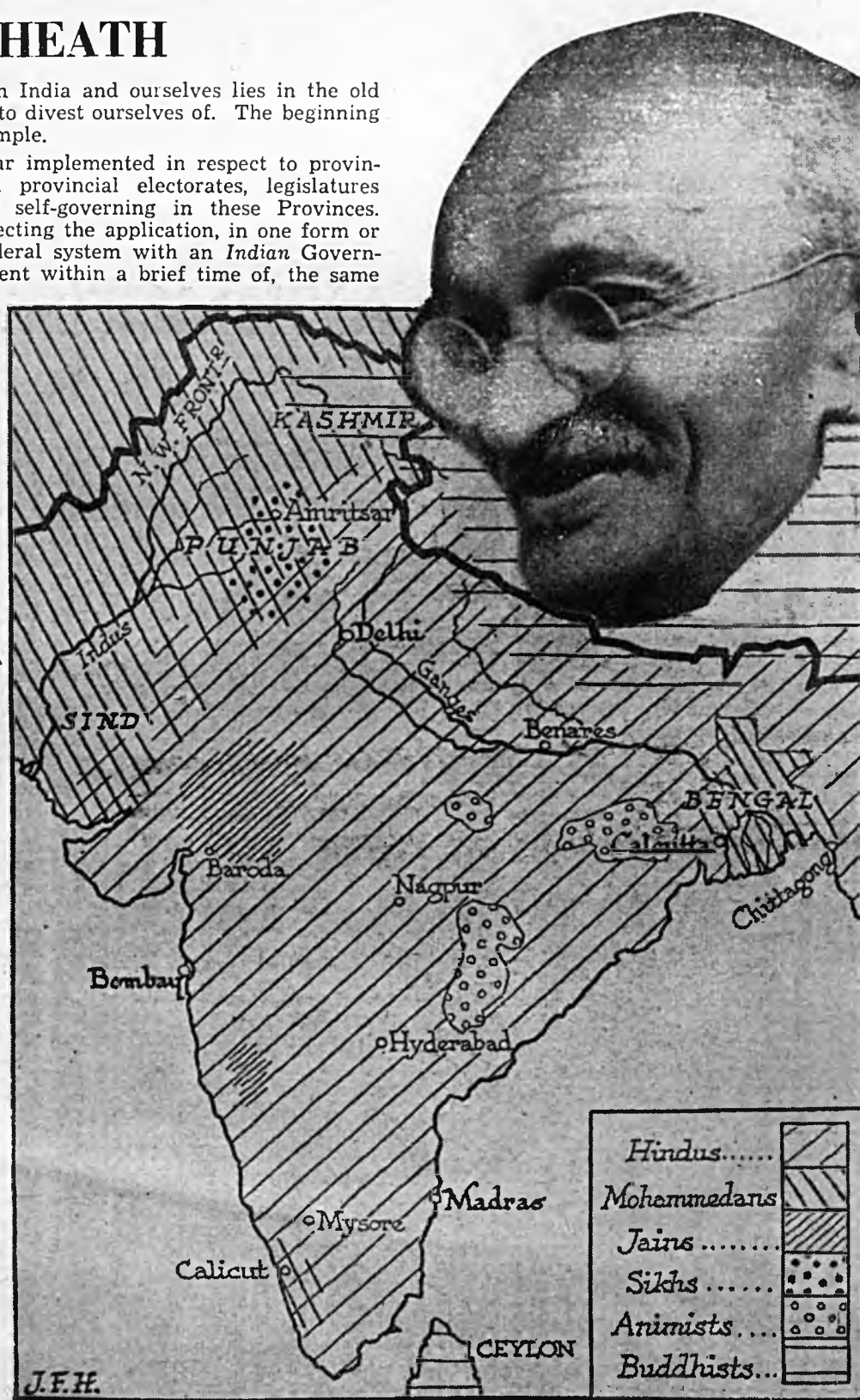
"Only a free and equal India can co-operate of her free will. Till that vital change is made none of us have the power to make the people of India enthusiastic for a war that is not theirs."

Question from Congress

Of the eleven Provincial Governments eight are controlled by the major political party in India—the Congress Party. On any general democratic franchise this party would control the Government of India. It is not therefore astonishing that, in view of the way in which India came into the war, the Congress Party in its able leadership decided to put a question to the British Government. This question has been tersely expressed by Mr. Nehru:

"Congress has invited the British Government to state its war and peace aims clearly, and particularly how these apply to the Imperialistic

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This map, by J. F. Horrabin, illustrates the communal problem in India, referred to particularly by Carl Heath in the adjacent article. We reproduce it from "An Atlas of Current Affairs" (Gollancz) with acknowledgments to the artist and the publishers. Inset—Mr. Gandhi.

"Honour" and the War

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL, ably assisted by the press, did his best to send the public off on its Christmas holiday with a comfortable feeling of "we're winning."

Unfortunately, the pleasure which we were meant to feel at the disappearance of the pocket battleship, Admiral Graf Spee, was tempered to some extent by the tragic death of her commander, Captain Otto Langsdorff.

Now it is not the business of *Peace News* to comment on military or naval affairs as such. But the sensational scuttling and its sequel have thrown into sharp relief some rather peculiar ideas of "honour." They are worthy of study if we are ever to exorcise the spirit of militarism from the world. (And that is not only the pacifist's aim; it is one of the alleged purposes for which we are again at war.)

CONSIDER the words of Mr. Churchill, describing in his broadcast the position of the Graf Spee after she had taken refuge in Montevideo:

"Once in harbour she had the choice of submitting in the ordinary manner to internment, which would have been unfortunate for her, or of coming out to fight and going down in battle like the *Rawalpindi*, which would have been honourable to her. She discovered a third alternative. She came out not to fight but to sink herself..."

It would have been "honourable" for the battleship to come out to fight... do you recall what happened in the battle off the River Plate?

The second battle might well have meant the deaths of hundreds more men. No wonder even Mr. Churchill admitted that the end of the raider came in a form which, though apparently not honourable, was "most serviceable."

THE Naval Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, discussing the scuttling, in the issue of December 19, was more generous.

"It is the best end from the point of view of human life," he wrote. "It would have been plain murder to have faced in battle the British vessels that were waiting off Montevideo. It would have been ignominious to have submitted tamely to internment in a neutral harbour, with the prospect that at the end of the war the ship would fall into British hands."

"Indeed, the end had been foreseen. No-one really expected the Graf Spee to 'make a dash for it.' The end of her career as a raider was written when the little *Ajax* and *Achilles* chased her up the River Plate to Montevideo on Wednesday. It was a clean career. No non-combatant, as far as we know, was killed in any of

(Continued on back page).

PEACE AND GOODWILL

are words we think of and value more than ever, now the black clouds of war surround us. Peace, when creative ideas have opportunity for conception and growth. Goodwill, to further those ideas by joint efforts of friendly peoples. The consequences of permanent peace and goodwill would be endless in their beneficence. May the era dawn, and dawn soon.

Concomitant of such an era—and (men having bodies as well as souls) no less valuable because economic—is prosperity. Prosperity for races, and for individuals: to aid culture, dissuade from war, ennoble pleasure, comfort old age. Prosperity is not an end in itself, but since it is the ally of greater causes it is a condition to be desired.

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A Woman Observer says: C.O.s' Tribunals Are Deadly Stupid

BEFORE this war I hadn't given much thought to the problems of CO's—as a woman, I haven't had to. I just took it for granted that a man faced with conscription should have the courage to follow the dictates of his conscience, if any; and at the back of my mind was a complacent feeling that I should certainly have that much courage myself.

Now I am not sure. A day at the Tribunals has shaken my self-confidence quite a lot. It is the terrifying stupidity of the affair that would put me off—not the prospect of being bullied or misjudged.

For CO Tribunals, I find, are far from brutal or intimidating—the CO is treated courteously, and given plenty of “rope.” As the first case comes to an end I tell myself that it might have been a great deal worse. A quiet, polite colloquy between CO and Tribunal—every chance to use a bible, a schoolmaster's letter, a friend—there is surely nothing very objectionable in all this. Even the audience is easy: it consists mostly of large shopping women, murmuring motherly sympathy, and tolerant, rheumy old men with frayed regimental ribbons in their coats, and a sprinkling of shabby, eager young watching over the “rights” of a contemporary.

Mild Inquisition

SO that with all this decency about me, I wonder why I feel suddenly so ashamed of being here, and why I am hating this very mild inquisition so much. Why is it so hard to look at this fiery-faced youngster who steps down from the dais, committed to non-combatant duties only? Why must one remember for so long afterwards, the white, sweating lad who steps up next before the Judge?

I find myself thinking how much better I could bear it, if only the boys looked different—if only they were less ordinary in every way. I had rather expected a few vivid shirts and beards—a suggestion, now and then, of defiant eccentricity and robust pleasure therein. There is not one of these typical “tough” bohemians in several hours; but instead, a string of tidy civilians, self-respecting and attractive in cheap best suits. They look as though they might be going to be interviewed for their first important job—perhaps in a grim sense they are.

Most of them have not had leisure for

high-falutin' theories—they spend their days behind counters in Oxford Street, or brick-laying in Battersea, or adding up sums in the obscurity of some city office. They have not, I am convinced, sought notoriety, and they are not enjoying it. With their decency and their lack of vocabulary, it seems a ghastly mistake that they should have to stand here, one by one, and explain why it is that they, aged twenty, have taken it on themselves to condemn man's ways to man.

The Judge, as best he can, leads them on: “And what makes you think, Mr. X, that Christ condemns war? He has never said so, has He?”

BEFORE the day is through I have heard this a score of times; and I can't help wishing, for the sake of these stubborn, inarticulate boys, that Christ had declared Himself specifically on this point, just once. If only a long-sighted disciple had given Him a form to fill in, worded like this: “It may happen in time to come that men too young to have exploited the world will be commanded to remake the world, by starving, shooting and bombing people who are mostly as guiltless as himself. I declare that for the young men to obey this command will be right/wrong”—the chosen alternative to be plainly marked by Christ, with His Cross.

As it is, the Tribunal must do its best with such dubious directions as those pointed by the Sermon on the Mount—a text from which the Judge finds “vague.” The real horror of this tortuous theology is that it does not matter, and almost everyone knows that it does not matter. This argument between CO and Tribunal is like the bitterest sort of personal quarrel—it deals in unessentials, and settles nothing. This court favours texts because it cannot face truths—such truths, for instance, as the dead body of one German/British soldier, or the hungry face of one Clyde-side/German child. What we lack here is a few exhibits.

Questions for the Tribunal

SO it goes on—the muddled doctrine, the bombastic statements, the nervous, twisting hands; now and then a mention of a father killed by the last war—and at this the Tribunal reverently inclines its heads. I find this exceedingly odd. What is the Tribunal doing, bowing its heads over someone's late father in times like these: when here we are, pushing and lurching all together into that vast calamity

“whose common theme
Is deaths of fathers?”

I long to ask the Tribunal about this; and about other things too—the questions pile themselves up in my mind. Why, for instance, contrary to Government propaganda, does this Tribunal repeatedly call the German people our enemies? Why, contrary to observable fact, does it suggest that the Germans are making upon us a tremendous attack, against which we must defend ourselves at all costs? And what, or who, is Private Killing?

Private Killing comes into the argument in connexion with the Sixth Commandment, which applies, says the Tribunal, only to “private killing,” and not to the killing part of the soldier's job. This is reassuring—or would be, if it left us in war with nothing to bury but Public Dead. But the private little children, the men and women, who are liable to die their incredible deaths in modern warfare—these

could never, surely, be “Public Dead.” Not being able to place Public Dead, I can make nothing of this “Private Killing.” He forms fours accordingly in my bewildered woman's mind, with Major Incidents, General Mobilization and other incomprehensibles. This is a man's world, and baffling.

WITH Private Killing, in fact, I give up. It is a queer, chilly business, watching young men on trial in 1939 for refusing to kill. I do not want to see one more boy put through his doctrinal paces. I do not want to hear one more deadly half-truth from the bench of oldish men.

I decide, going home, that I should possibly (were I a young man) never let my conscience drive me to a CO Tribunal—so little do I like being in a firing line with stupidities spluttering around. But these CO boys are more reckless; and some of them, with their courage and their stubborn humanity, are doing something vitally necessary at this moment, to vindicate the dignity of man.

INDIA

continued from
front page

order and to India. India can take no part in defending Imperialism, but she will join in the struggle for freedom.”

And going further he wrote: “This is no small offer that India makes, for it means the ending of a hundred years of hostility between India and England, a great turning point in world history and a real beginning of the new order we fight for.”

Here was a great opportunity for the British Government. A generous response would have ended the semi-revolutionary stage in India, and bound that great country in a lasting friendship with Great Britain. What was needed was a definite undertaking, such as was given to the Dominions in the last war, of complete freedom within a stated time after the ending of the war, together with a frank invitation to all parties to join the British Government in finding solutions to the obstacles in the way.

For clearly there are such, one of which threatens to be formidable: the Moslems must be made confident of their rights under a rule mainly Hindu. It is up to the Congress Party to find a way of making certain, in the Constitution they desire, of the rights of minorities all over India—Moslems, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Christians, and Hindus in Provinces where these are a minority.

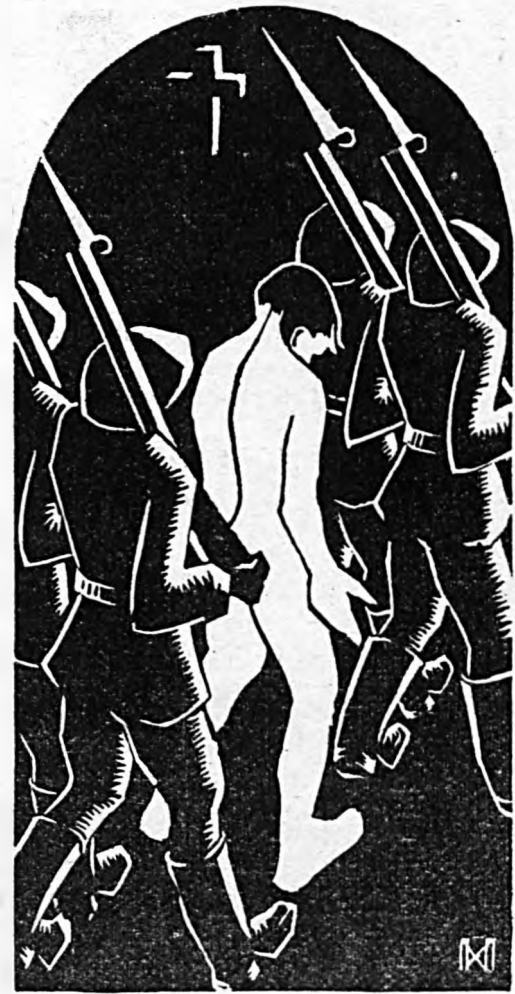
Vague Promise

Instead of a straight reply on the main question the Viceroy was encouraged to consult with all manner of persons, fifty in all. And, at the end, all he could declare was, once again, that Dominion status was intended, and to invite leaders to accept invitations to come into an irresponsible consultative committee to help him in the prosecution of the war, together with a vague promise to reconsider details of the federal part of the new Constitution after the war was ended. Meanwhile he presented the tension between the All-India Muslim League and the Congress Party as an almost insuperable obstacle to advance.

It is, of course, denied that the British purpose is, once again, to divide and rule. Yet the obvious and immediate result was to intensify the opposition of the Muslim League to any democratic advance at all.

Moslems and Congress

Now be it admitted that politically there is much tension between the two bodies named. It must be observed, however, that the All-India Muslim League certainly does not represent all the Moslems of India. The North-West Frontier Province and its Government is Moslem and Congress. And the Congress Party itself, if mainly Hindu,



... my brother's keeper
by Noel R. King

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will appear the first
of a series of regular
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A "Victory Without Violence" for German Workers

EVEN in the midst of war the German workers have won a bloodless victory.

Due to the passive resistance adopted by workers when an order issued in September abolished extra pay for overtime, a decree was issued recently restoring overtime pay.

The Labour Minister admitted in an article in the Reichsarbeitsblatt that the Government had been obliged to retreat, and expressed the hope that the workers would “calm down.”

A Daily Telegraph correspondent commented: “The workers now see that they can exercise pressure on the Government by means of passive resistance, and they are likely to cause Hitler much more trouble during the next few months.”



STUART MORRIS looks forward with OPTIMISM

IS it because hope springs eternal in the human breast that the passing from one year to another, which in itself can obviously have no moral significance, is nevertheless not only accompanied by its special ceremonial, but is regarded by many as an occasion when they can turn more than the page of the calendar?

We are always looking to the future for the fulfilment of the hope which the past has denied us. Even if the past has been good, we hope that the future may be better.

But that doesn't necessarily mean that we are amongst the true optimists. There are even pessimist pacifists—though, in truth, that is a contradiction in terms. For whether you are a true optimist or not depends not on circumstances or environment, but on what you really believe in.

The pessimist has been likened to the man who always wore a belt and braces, because he feared the worst. He sees life in terms of the choice of two evils, and spends his time choosing both of them.

All-inclusive Evil

You must have noticed how the occasion of war has once more brought out the argument about the choice of two evils. Leaders in church and state, and chairmen of tribunals alike have produced the old so-called dilemma in which, because we are supposed to have to choose between a greater and a lesser evil, we are bidden to choose war. About this choice, perhaps nothing more needs to be said than that if you really do want to choose the lesser evil you never will choose war, since sooner or later it involves every other kind of evil. And that for the Christian at least to see life in terms of a choice of two evils is to postulate a situation in which the will of God cannot be done, since God cannot will evil, even a lesser evil.

The acceptance of such a proposition is indeed to deny the sovereignty of God. And so back from this diversion to the pessimist who ultimately believes in a God of Fate—who sits aloft on a throne of power and holds the world in the hollow of his hand, and makes us dance like puppets on strings at his bidding. In fact a very totalitarian God—the kind of god I suppose that they picture whose fears of Hitler lead them apparently to endue him with sole power over the destinies of Europe. It is not the pacifist who is the "defeatist," but the pessimist, which is the reason why the pessimist is no use to himself or to anybody else.

But if we have to beware of the pessimist we have also to be on our guard against the false optimist. He might be likened to the man who, as he fell from the top of a New York skyscraper, was heard to exclaim as he passed the seventy-fourth storey, "alright so far."

False Optimism

The false optimist is always hoping for the best but never doing anything to achieve it. A short time ago he was bidding us hope for the best and prepare for the worst. I wonder if he is really surprised that we have got the worst—or very nearly.

In spite of the fact that the pages of history are writ large into the story of the passing of other civilizations, and interleaved with the picture of great Empires crashing on their way to ruin, he believes in inevitability. He interprets this in such a way that his flickering torch in the blackout becomes the symbol of the inevitable dawn of a new day, and while he believes in the permanence of the British Empire even more surely than he does in the Kingdom of God.

Ultimately he believes in a God of chance—a rather kind and benevolent old gentleman who sits aloft on a throne of ease, content to look down on the world with a benignant smile. A God who is so kind that all will be well. Of course he is on our side, so we must win the war.

But in spite of the fact that some members of tribunals have apparently decided that, if Christ said we were to love our enemies, that implies that we must have enemies (and, I suppose, go to war with them to show the depth of our love for them) it is at least possible that God does not regard the people of Germany as his enemies any more than we are.

Those who talk first of victory and then of peace are false optimists, and so far as the best hopes for 1940 are concerned, as much "defeatist" as the pessimists.

Face the Facts

The trouble is that we do tend to see our God in terms of ourselves, and make him a kind of projection of ourselves and fear of self-dictates, until the world becomes the battle ground on which we fight and always will, or the market in which we buy and sell and always get the better of the bargain.

But neither God nor the world is like this, and all the time the world is really crying out for the true optimists, those who win through to their optimism because they refuse both to pretend that ugly facts do not exist, or to be overwhelmed by them. That is why the pacifist is the true optimist, because he knows that

his faith is one which can face all the ugly facts and see through them. He does not think in terms of chance or fate, but of love.

But if this is true, then it behoves us more and more to see to it that we are never content to be mere war resisters, or those who think only in terms of stopping the war. We have to find expression for a faith—a conviction about life. A conscience which finds war repugnant must find intolerable all the causes and occasions of war, and indeed the whole side of society which, in this vicious circle, produces the war upon which it depends for its continued existence. We become conscientious objectors against such a side of society.

I believe it not without significance that at this juncture the National Council appointed a Forethought Committee—and that the members of that committee at its first gathering, having decided to try to make their own meeting an adventure in pacifism, were able to reach agreement on four affirmations, which they saw as the Bond of Peace. Since their report must be considered by the National Council, I must not anticipate or prejudice the final decision, but I know that those of us who were at Old Jordans found renewed fellowship and real optimism in reaching agreement on what we all hope may be accepted as guiding principles for the PPU.

But may I be allowed one further observation? I know how patronizing and irritating it may often seem to those who don't want to be labelled "Christian" to be told that after all they are Christians in spite of themselves. Nevertheless, is it not true that so long as we do go on living as we are living, for something or someone—that we therefore have a "god"? The pessimist has his God of Faith, the blind optimist his God of Chance, and the pacifist his God of Love.

True Freedom

It is my belief that the distinctive contribution which Christ made to the thinking of man lies in his realizing that human personality is sacred, and that man is meant to achieve a freedom which, if it is not to become licence or tyranny, must be discovered in fellowship with others, and that, moreover, if man is to preserve his true values, all material things become means towards that twin end.

Ultimately we are optimists because we know that love never fails.

"Whether there be prophecies they shall fail, whether there be tongues they shall cease, whether there be knowledge it shall vanish away. Love suffereth long and is kind—love envieth not—love boasts not and does not behave itself unseemly. Love seeks not its own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

So our faith is in the future, and our hope for 1940 rests in that pacifism which can set free the Love which is greater than faith and hope.

GOD AND WAR

WILL history repeat itself, and bring our dreams to ruin on the rocks of time? History is so utterly merciless about War.

We in Britain were accustomed to think of the nineteenth century as a time of progress, prosperity and peace. That was a comfortable lie. The fact turns me sick. The real nineteenth century was just a shambles. There was a War in the world regularly every four years.

I carried the facts—the dry facts of history—out to France in 1915. I was always interested in military history. Yes, that's the word, interested. I was just interested because I knew nothing. Battles were just the movements on the chessboard of the world to me. I was as innocent, as fatuously, idiotically innocent as most young men of my generation.

I carried the interesting facts into my first battle, and there they came to life, they roared and thundered, they dripped with blood, they cursed, mocked, blasphemed, and cried like a child for mercy. They stood up before me like obscene spectres, beckoning with bloody hands, laughing like fiends at my little parochial religion, and my silly parochial God.

I can remember running over an open space under shell fire trying madly to fit in the dates, and every shrieking shell kept yelling at me with foul oaths. Now do you understand, you miserable little parson with your petty shibboleths, this is W-A-R-War, and History is War—and this is what History means. How about gentle Jesus, God the Father, and the Peace of God—how about it? . . . Here is the case in a nutshell. Does God will War? Is it part of His mysterious plan? Are the Militarist historians right? I answer "If God wills War, then I am morally mad, and I don't know good from evil."

War is the most obviously wicked thing I know. If God wills War then I am not an atheist, I am an antitheist. I am against God. I hate Him. Does God hate War? Does He will its abolition? Does He will peace on earth? Does God will that the Bible's broken dreams come true? That to me is an obvious Truth.

G. A. Studdert Kennedy
—Lies (Hodder and Stoughton).

An Anthology of Peace and War

Arranged by Vincent Long

Helen Keller

I CANNOT believe that the stronger Britain is in armaments the greater will be the certainty of peace. History teaches that fleets and armies are as provocative as weapons openly carried by private citizens, and that the innumerable treaties signed after wars have settled nothing.

P. B. Shelley

IF all the thought that had been expended on the construction of engines of agony and death—the modes of aggression and defence, the raising of armies, and the acquirement of those acts of tyranny and falsehood without which mixed multitudes could neither be led nor governed—had been employed to promote the true welfare and extend the real Empire of Man, how different would have been the present situation of human society.

Thomas Carlyle

When an individual is miserable, what does it most of all befall him to do? To complain of this man or of that, of this thing or of that? To fill the world and the street with lamentations and oburgations? Not so at all; the reverse of so. All moralists advise him not to complain of any person or of any thing, but of himself only. He is to know of a truth that being miserable he has been unwise. Had he faithfully followed Nature and her laws, Nature, ever true to her laws, would have yielded fruit and increase and felicity; but he has followed other than Nature's laws; and now Nature, her patience with him being ended, leaves him desolate; answers with very emphatic significance to him; No. Not by this road, my son; by another road shalt thou attain well-being; this, thou perceivest, is the road to ill being; quit this. So do all moralists advise; that the man penitently say to himself first of all, Behold I was not wise enough; I quitted the laws of Fact, which are also called the laws of God, and mistook for them the laws of Sham and Semblance, which are called the Devil's Laws; therefore am I here. Neither with nations that become miserable is it fundamentally otherwise.

John Scott

I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To thoughtless youth it pleasure yields,
And lures from cities and from fields,
To sell their liberty for charms
Of tawdry lace, and glittering arms;
And when Ambition's voice commands,
To march, and fight, and fall in foreign lands.

I hate that drum's discordant sound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To me it talks of ravaged plains,
And burning towns, and ruined swains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widows' tears, and orphans' moans;
And all that Misery's hand bestows
To fill the catalogue of human woes.

1939 In Retrospect

A YEAR'S WORK FOR PEACE

These are, naturally, days of retrospection: Remembrance this year is inevitably tinged with dejection, for the catastrophe we all hoped to avert has come upon the world. In such a mood we are apt to forget the good work that has been done, and which must continue to be done if all is not to be lost. This summary of the year's peace work—culled largely from the pages of "Peace News"—is offered as some encouragement to the pacifist movement in the year that lies ahead.

January

Appeal launched asking French authorities to show clemency to Eugène Lagot, leading French war resister.

No-Conscription League formed; Fenner Brockway, secretary of ILP, declares in interview with *Peace News*: "No one who lived through the experience of 1915 to 1916 can doubt that the National Register is a preliminary to conscription."

Donald Soper returns to Tower Hill "pitch" after severe illness.

New drive begins for signatures to the National Petition for a New World Conference.

Emergency convention against conscription, held by No Conscription League in London, attended by 300 delegates and over 100 individual members, from all over the country.

"Economic Road to Peace" conference held in London.

National Peace Council, in memorandum to Home Office, urges action by the Government to enable Czecho-Slovak refugees to enter Britain at the earliest moment.

Peace News sellers picket Albert Hall during rally of air raid wardens; one seller presents Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, with a copy.

French pacifists imprisoned in Paris appeal to the people of the world to renounce war and to refuse to be conscripted.

Peace News circulation reaches 20,679.

PPU membership reaches 123,801.

February

Declaration of renunciation of war, for signature by ministers and clergy, issued by Council of Christian Pacifist Groups. Meeting in support held in Kingsway Hall, London.

Imprisoned French pacifists go on hunger-strike against refusal of authorities to grant facilities usually allowed to political prisoners.

Six unemployed men, chosen by National Unemployed Workers' Movement, entertained to lunch at Ritz Hotel by seven members of the PPU.

During special "Petition Week" a drive is made for signatures to the National Petition for a New World Conference.

Peace News circulation reaches 21,156.

PPU membership reaches 124,268.

March

PPU headquarters moved from 96 Regent Street to 6 Endsleigh Street.

Mrs. Benjamin, PPU member who had been aiding stateless refugees in Prague, reports in *Peace News* on their desperate position.

Mr. George Lansbury, in letter to the Pope,

urges calling of conference of religious leaders of the world, to meet in Jerusalem at Easter.

Lord Allen of Hurtwood, prominent member of No Conscription Fellowship during Great War dies in Switzerland.

At crowded public meeting held by PPU in Friends House, London, a call is made for international service for peace as an alternative to rearmament. (Speakers: Stuart Morris, Lord Ponsonby, Ethel Mannin, Max Plozman, and Dr. Donald Soper.)

Eric Gill becomes chairman of Pax, Catholic pacifist association.

Signatures to National Petition for a New World Conference reach final total of 1,062,000. Campaign closes with rally in Queen's Hall, London. Deputations interview Premier and Opposition leaders. Mr. Chamberlain says he agrees generally with its aims and will watch for opportunity of following up suggested line of approach.

In an Open Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, published in *Peace News*, Stuart Morris, PPU chairman, writes: "Many of us... have become increasingly disturbed by pronouncements which express your attitude to war in general and the present situation in particular."

Stuart Morris and John Barclay conduct campaign in Northern Ireland.

A. E. Bayntun, Edmonton group leader, dismissed by employers for refusing ARP drill.

Peace News circulation reaches 21,425.

PPU membership reaches 124,588.

April

Women's International League makes "solemn appeal to the governments which are willing to

discuss world organization for peace... to meet together without delay."

"Call to World Workers" issued by chairman and secretary of ILP, proposing international congress of working-class organizations to plan action to resist war, prevent extension of fascism, assist colonial workers, assist workers under fascism, and assist refugees.

Peace News publishes figures showing growth of PPU, in answer to Sir Auckland Geddes' allegation that the pacifist movement is "shrinking steadily."

PPU holds annual general meeting in London; adopts new constitution providing for election of a National Council. On behalf of the meeting telegrams are sent to President Roosevelt, Mr. Chamberlain, Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, welcoming Mr. Roosevelt's call for a world conference but requesting withdrawal of any preliminary conditions.

Dick Sheppard House, new PPU headquarters, formally opened by Miss Margaret Sheppard during the AGM. Laurence Housman launches appeal for funds by asking each member to pay 6d. for one of the bricks of the building.

Replying to the reviewer of his book *Why War?* (Penguin Special) in *Peace News*, Dr. C. E. M. Joad warns pacifists against sectionalism, which might "land us all in concentration camps."

Catholic Herald appeals "to the 300,000,000 Catholics of the world to carry out the Catholic injunction that every effort must be made to find a pacifist settlement before war can be justly resorted to."

Claim for unemployment benefit by A. E. Bayntun, "sacked" Edmonton PPU group leader, dismissed by Local Court of Referees.

Eugène Lagot, French war resister, released from prison, but some of his comrades remain in jail.

Death of Dr. Har Dayal, well-known Indian pacifist, reported from America.

Death of Henry S. Salt, pacifist and founder of Humanitarian League.

National Peace Council, in letter to Premier concerning President Roosevelt's peace appeal, urges need for British Government to announce "the positive contribution which the British Empire itself is prepared to make to ensure a firmer and fuller economic liberty for the multitudes in every country."

Nearly 200 trades union delegates attend Yorkshire conference held by No Conscription League.

Maurice Fuzzard, Patrol leader in Hull, forced to leave Scout Movement as a result of article he wrote for *Peace News*.

Peace News Fighting Fund opened.

Death of Mr. Morgan Jones, MP, member of No Conscription Fellowship during Great War.

Peace News circulation reaches 21,255.

PPU membership reaches 125,002.

May

First meeting of PPU National Council.

In interview with *Peace News*, Mr. George Lansbury urges need for general pressure on individual MPs on the conscription issue.

Welsh children broadcast eighteenth annual peace message to the world.

Catholic Herald's peace appeal (see April) is supported by Duke of Windsor, Lord Hailsham, Archbishop of York, Lord Elton, Mr. Hugh Walpole, Lord Russell of Killowen, Dame Marie Tempest, Prebendary Carlisle, Rev. J. R. Campbell and Mr. H. A. L. Fisher (now Chairman of Appellate Tribunal for COs.)

Miss Elsie Page, London pacifist "sacked" for refusing to take part in firm's ARP exercises.

Opposition to conscription expressed by ILP, Scottish Socialist Party, Manchester Young Liberals' Association, Scottish TUC, Union of Post Office Workers, Textile Workers' Union, South Wales Miners' Federation, Glasgow Corporation, Bermondsey Borough Council, Welsh Nationalist Party, and many other religious and peace organizations.

No Conscription League forms Youth Section. Nearly a thousand PPU members—mostly under 25—attend emergency meeting in London, and express strong determination to resist conscription.

"Unalterable and uncompromising resistance to conscription" expressed in manifesto issued by PPU.

Mr. Gandhi answers criticism of the Peace Pledge.

Attacks on pacifists by the tabloid Press answered in *Peace News*.

About 2,000 people march through West End of London as demonstration against conscription.

"No Conscription" contingent takes part in Labour movement's May Day procession.

Letter sent to Premier by committee representing the million signatories to the National Petition, urging him to address a message of friendship to the German people.

Newcastle PPU members held big poster parade during a Tyneside black-out.

Nottingham Dick Sheppard Centre opened.

PPU publish *Peace Service Handbook*.

Plans for big drive to bring the *Handbook* before the public announced at a meeting of about 1,000 PPU members ("under 25s") in London.

PPU in Wales holds annual conference.

Minister of Labour receives deputation from Council of Christian Groups to discuss administration of Military Training Bill, so far as it will affect COs.

A hundred volunteers sell more than 500 copies of *Peace News* (special Birmingham number) in 1½ hours in Birmingham.

Large audience in Newcastle enthusiastically endorses Mr. Lansbury's appeal for an immediate world conference.

Resolution opposing Military Training Act carried unanimously at Congress of Co-operative Union.

Peace News circulation reaches 24,311.

PPU membership reaches 126,633.

June

PPU issue special leaflet for distribution to men registering under the Military Training Act.

Ten thousand people attend anti-conscription rally in Caernarvon.

Committee of MPs formed to watch cases of men claiming exemption on conscientious or other grounds.

Determination to give "every support to COs, our members and others," expressed by 271st Yearly Meeting of Society and Friends.

New Bruderhof established at Oaksea, four miles from the original Cotswold Bruderhof.

Five-mile-long peace parade of women held in Rotterdam.

Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors formed. Many cases of men being dismissed from their employment because they conscientiously object to military service are reported to the Peace Pledge Union.

One June 3, first registration day under the Military Training Act, 3,893 men aged 20-21 registered as conscientious objectors.

Executive Committee of National Peace Council, in letters to Premier and Foreign Secretary, appeals "for a detailed declaration of this country and—so far as our influence can secure this—of the Empire as a whole," to make sacrifices for a constructive peace.

Appeal by Mr. A. E. Bayntun for unemployment benefit (see March and April) dismissed by Umpire.

Mr. Hugh Bingham, member of Peace Army, who had been working for that body in Palestine, died from wounds received four months previously.

Peace Pledge Union launches Youth Campaign. Manchester branch of No Conscription League holds conference of delegates from all over North-West England to develop campaign for repeal of Military Training Act and to support men affected by it.

Pierre Martin, 21-year-old French student, sentenced to two years' imprisonment for refusal to perform military training. (Two months before he had been released from jail in very bad health.)

Mass meeting against conscription held by National Joint Advisory Bureau in Central Hall, Westminster.

Peace News circulation reaches 23,314.

PPU membership reaches 127,644.

July

Practical proposals for ending international deadlock adopted by 29th National Peace Congress in London.

The "Plain Man," contributor to *Peace News* accused by William Hickey in the *Daily Express* of being pro-German. *Daily Telegraph* gives prominence to memorandum issued by Research Department of Economic League accusing PPU of being "a channel" for Nazi propaganda; a letter replying to the charge, from Stuart Morris, PPU chairman, is cut by *Daily Telegraph* before publication.

First tribunal for conscientious objectors under the Military Training Act is held in Birmingham. Dick Sheppard Centres opened at Birmingham and Oldham.

PPU summer conference opens at Pannal Ash College, Harrogate.

Peace News circulation reaches 22,582.

PPU membership reaches 128,522.

August

Pacifist "pirate" radio station heard in London.

Press announces that the authorities are trying to track down pacifist "pirate" radio. The PPU explains that it has no connexion with the station.

A CO who declared he would fight in a "class war" is given complete exemption by South-Western Tribunal.

As tension mounts over the Danzig situation, Mr. Lansbury and Mr. Maxton in the House of Commons, and Lord Arnold and Lord Ponsonby in the House of Lords, put forward the pacifist point of view on the crisis.

Peace News circulation reaches 22,058.

PPU membership reaches 129,289.

September

Germany invades Poland on September 1; Britain and France declare war on Germany on September 3.

In first war-time issue of *Peace News*, Stuart Morris declares: "Our pledge to humanity... stands. We renounce war and will never support or sanction another."

(Continued on back page)

THE WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

Established 1921

55 affiliated Sections in 25 countries.

Members in 68 countries

British Section—

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Christmas

1939

BE YE STRONG
& OF GOOD COURAGE

GREETINGS

for

A NEW YEAR



The International says Goodbye to 1939 with relief that a sad year has ended. It thanks the friends of the W.R.I. who have served it so generously and enabled it to carry out its most difficult task.

THE INTERNATIONAL thanks:—

The British Home Office for their considerable help to its refugees;

The Enemy Aliens Tribunals for calling them friends;

The Foreign Office for help in communicating with war resisters in prison in other lands;

The International Red Cross for its co-operation;

The British War Office for providing the labels to send its literature abroad;

and especially the many members of the

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

for their constant and generous help.

TO ALL—A BETTER NEW YEAR

War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England

Bristol Women's Silent Witness for Peace

From a Correspondent

ABOUT sixty women marched through the main streets of Bristol on the Saturday before last. A banner with the inscription: "Bristol Women's Witness for an Immediate Peace," was carried in front, but otherwise there was no publicity, no slogans, and no music.

This silent witness was most effective, for the crowds of Christmas shoppers were quite unprepared for the procession, and their interest was immediately aroused.

The women's message as well as the idea of making peace now reached from ten to twenty thousand citizens.

The procession ended at the Friends' Meeting House, where Miss Mabel Tothill addressed the women. A telegram was sent to the Queen appealing for her help to secure an end to the war and a peace based not upon victory but on the renunciation of privilege and the offer of justice.

A Piano Offered

A piano (upright) in good condition—may want tuning—recently overhauled, is offered by Miss Moss, 3 Woodberry Avenue, North Harrow (Telephone: Harrow 1444 or Holborn 4381.)

1940—MAKE IT A VINTAGE YEAR! says John Barclay

THE old quip that "a pacifist is a 'crank'" has been well answered by the remark that "it needs a crank to start all machinery." Nineteen-thirty-nine has certainly seen the machinery revolve and great power has been generated. The work for us in 1940 is the switchboard.

During the past year I have travelled widely over this country and every journey I make convinces me more certainly that we are ready for a bold lead. Since the war began in September most groups have doubled or trebled their active membership.

The new members are young, keen and terribly in earnest. Rightly or wrongly they feel that caution is a brake applied to second-hand movements driven by those who in the past have failed to pass the driving test.

In any case "caution" is a word which does not fit in with PPU policy. It is not caution that must guide us, but experience. If in the past it has seemed wise to go slow, it was largely because the necessary backing was not available to see us through.

"Ginger groups" are springing up like mushrooms overnight, and as if to act as a counterpoise, there have come into being

"Forethought" and "Advisory" committees. Thought and advice does not necessarily mean action, however, and groups are fretting for action.

It is not enough to have public meetings, poster parades, and leaflet distribution, however good the leaflets. What they need is a hand in the fashioning of the future by methods which are constructive and inspired by imaginative thought.

★

On the one hand we have a growing number of young men and women—tomorrow's leaders—dissatisfied with the pace and alarmed at the rising cost of the war-machine and all that this means in the future. On the other side are those—mostly older people—who have been and still are the inspiration of our movement, whose whole life is steeped in the pacifist faith and who are biding their time, knowing that victory is with the truly humble.

The Group Secretary's Weekly Notes

We need both "ginger and wine" to pull over the switch from War to Peace.

Only by understanding that in our groups lies the power and the strength, and in our councils the direction and policy, shall we achieve what so many movements have failed to achieve in the past—unity.

Nineteen-thirty-nine, then, for me is full of hope and I am filled with a passionate desire to do what I can to serve both the rebel and the saint. The truth as I see it is that saints are rebels and rebels often saints.

Work for the Groups

THERE is hope in the growing public realization that only when war stops can peace be discussed. Peace Aims are everywhere put forward and "Federation" the "new ideal."

I will briefly summarize the lines along which group activity is now moving and leave open the idea that new lines should be discovered and reported from week to week on this page:

- (1) Weekly Group Meetings.
 - (2) Study Circles, Information Bureaux, Discussion Groups.
 - (3) Increased selling of "Peace News" from one to three days a week.
 - (4) Wide distribution of leaflets (continuous).
 - (5) Debates—Interchange of speakers with other bodies—Meetings—Poster Parades and training of speakers.
 - (6) Regional Activity or Conferences.
 - (7) Planning of future activities.
 - (8) Letter writing to press (local and national).
 - (9) Formation of Dick Sheppard Centres, Community Centres and social work in boys and girls' clubs.
 - (10) Individual and group training in non-violence.
- Nineteen-thirty-nine has been full of growth; let us make 1940 a vintage year.

How P.P.U. Groups Are Working for Peace

OUTSTANDING amongst recent Stockport activities was a very successful public meeting attended by 600 people. The proportion already "converted" was very small, but everyone went away thinking hard. The results are already being felt.

For several weeks group members have been visiting the churches of pacifist ministers to give them moral support and to learn something of their approach to pacifism. By co-operating with peace-loving ministers, and working closely also with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Society of Friends the group is slowly but surely building a strong peace opinion.

There are now eight groups in Stockport; only twelve months ago there were two.

Lewisham Reviews the Year's Work

AT the annual general meeting of the Lewisham Branch, Mr. A. M. Sibun, the secretary, outlined the events of the year, commencing with the results of the National Petition for a New Peace Conference, in connexion with which the branch had been responsible for the collection of over 1,000 of the 1,620 signatures collected by the joint Lewisham Petition Committee, of which Mr. Sibun had himself been secretary.

In March the branch had supported a scheme for opening a hostel in Lewisham for refugees, but the scheme had to be dropped.

April had marked the coming of conscription, and a corresponding revival in pacifist activity. Open-air meetings were resumed, and continued to draw large crowds weekly, culminating at the end of August, when Miss Sybil Morrison had addressed an audience of two hundred people. Subsequent attempts after the outbreak of war had met with less success, one being stopped by the police, others prevented by bad weather, but the street sales of *Peace News* had increased enormously.

Two successful meetings had been held and the branch had co-operated in an Armistice Day meeting.

Among the many new activities of the branch, had been the running of an advisory bureau for COs; a branch of the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors had also been formed on the initiative of a member.

Propaganda work had included the sale of several hundred copies of the *Peace Service Handbook*, and during the ten months more than twenty thousand leaflets had been distributed by the branch. Branch membership had increased by more than seventy since July.

The following provisional committee was elected: Mr. A. A. Vincent (Chairman), Mr. C. H. Norman (Vice-Chairman), Mr. Chas. Harding (Hon. Secretary), Miss Olive Davis (Hon. Treasurer), and five other members.

The address of the new Hon. Secretary is 88 Birkhall Road, Catford, S.E.6.

Eastbourne Group is Growing

THE Eastbourne Group is increasing steadily in numbers. From forty to fifty members meet every Sunday at 2.30 p.m. in the Friends' Meeting House, Wish Road. All friends are welcome.

Discussions have taken place on "What is Your Solution for the Present Situation?", "Absolutism v. Alternative Service", "A Federated States of Europe," &c., and test tribunals have been held at which local friends intending to apply for exemption from military service have presented their cases. Further "tribunals" will be held on week-nights next year for the benefit of those who have not been free to come on Sundays.

A COs' advisory bureau has been set up. Emphasis has been laid on the value of sending letters in support of a freely negotiated peace to local MPs, prominent statesmen and representatives of neutral countries, &c., and in addition to those sent by individual members, the group has, for the last few weeks, sent one letter or more from each meeting, signed by all present.

OVER sixty people attended last Thursday the first public meeting organized by the reformed Woking Group. This number was considered encouraging as many non-pacifists were present, but their questions were admirably answered by the speaker, Roy Walker.

Miss Vera Bingham, chairman of the East Hants and West Surrey Region, presided. W. H. Warren, 35 Russell Road, Horsell, Woking, is the Group Secretary, and he and members of the group are to be congratulated on their initial public effort.

Stoke-on-Trent Rally

THE Stoke-on-Trent group recently held a North Staffordshire rally at Harley addressed by E. Kershaw and H. I. Clippstone of Stafford. Reports were received from the six active groups in the Potteries.

A District Committee has been formed with officers of its own to organize meetings, rallies, &c., for all groups.

Efforts are being made to form two panels of speakers—one for groups, and the other for public meetings. The Stoke group has two small groups listening to J. Middleton Murry's Friday evening talks on "Europe in Travail."

New Leeds Secretary

THERE was a full discussion on future policy and activities at a recent meeting of the Leeds group.

Officers were appointed to fill vacant posts. Mr. J. Aitken was appointed chairman and Miss Dorothy Burdett, secretary. The new secretary's address is 115 Victoria Road, Leeds, 6, and all peace lovers in the district, whether PPU members or not, are invited to get into touch with her for further information regarding the activities of the Leeds group.

Earby Annual Meeting

THE Earby group recently held its annual meeting. Councillor Bert Cross was elected president and Wilfred Deamain secretary.

The group leader reported increases in activity, membership, and in sales of *Peace News*.

Five speakers were arranged to give talks on various aspects of the pacifist faith during the next two months. It was decided to insert a Christmas message of peace in the local paper.

West London Region

THE West London Region has followed up its successful Armistice Day poster parade with intense propaganda activity. Cinemas exhibiting the Nurse Cavell film have been picketed by the local group, who have distributed the Region's handbill "Patriotism is not enough."

Sunday morning meetings are now established at Putney Tow Path, and at the Grove, Hammer-smith. These will be increased as soon as additional speakers are available.

A speakers' training class is also contemplated for this purpose. Lunch-hour meetings are also held in conjunction with the No Conscription League near the venue of the London Tribunal on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Newark Trial Tribunal

NEWARK group, now more active than ever, has increased its membership by six, and last Saturday staged a second trial tribunal for the benefit of men of military age. Altogether five objectors have been cross-examined, and the only one among them who has so far been called to face a real tribunal was there granted the same conditional exemption as was allowed at the mock preliminary—a tribute to the impartiality and accuracy of the PPU "judicature."

Alone among local peace organizations, the group has been "pushing" the National Peace Council's Declaration of Peace Aims Campaign, and although the members have not found the going easy, they have succeeded in obtaining endorsement for the Appeal from several bodies, representing more than 100 members.

Dagenham Programme

THE Dagenham group has arranged an interesting programme for the first two months in 1940. Particularly members are looking forward to the visit of John Barclay on January 19.

At present members are busy reconvening the district and helpers would be welcome. Any who are interested are invited to meet any Friday evening, at 8 p.m., at Kingsley Hall, Parsloes Avenue (Wood Lane), Dagenham.

Suggestions that will help to make the group a real live fellowship will be welcomed by the Secretary, Geo. Dubock, 21 Adelaide Gardens, Whalebone Lane North, Chadwell Heath, Essex.

Eastleigh Resolution

AT an Eastleigh group meeting recently the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"In view of the fact that the silent women's march organized in London as a protest against the continuation of the war was non-political in character and was an expression of moral conviction and public opinion the Eastleigh group of the PPU deplore the action of Sir Philip Game in banning such a procession as a most serious attack on and restriction of British liberty." Copies were sent to the leaders of all parties in the House, to several individual MPs and to the local press.

In connexion with the women's campaign the Eastleigh group organized a mass selling of *Peace News* in Southampton. Leaflets entitled "Mothers of Britain" were distributed and a favourable reception was obtained. It is intended to arrange a women's march in January as the next step in the campaign.

Brighton Ladies Busy

THE Brighton PPU Ladies' Working Party, meeting every Wednesday since October 25 under the leadership of Miss K. Higgs, has made 108 garments which have been distributed to refugee families in Kent and Sussex.

They have been working in co-operation with the Germany Emergency Committee which recommends needy cases. Scarves have also been knitted for men in internment camps.

Bermondsey Mass Selling

THE Bermondsey group held its first mass selling of *Peace News* a short while ago. Sales rose on the following week, and this week it is holding a poster parade in conjunction with the selling.

Recent group meetings have been addressed by a German Pacifist Refugee, and Mr. Fenner Bockway, who spoke on "India."

All members of the group who have registered as COs will take the absolutist stand.

Boscombe Debaters on "Peace"

BOSCOMBE Debating Society met recently to receive a visit from the Bournemouth PPU. Mr. Wheeldon was in the chair.

Mr. Jackson, PPU, speaking on "The Power of Non-Violence," said that the success following non-violence was almost too good to be true. It aroused ridicule, yet there were a dozen examples of successful passive resistance to oppression.

Absolute pacifism, he said, was moral ju-jitsu, and caused attackers to lose their balance.

Members entering in the discussion were: Messrs. Simpson (Treasurer), Middleton (Vice-President), Stockley, O'Donnel, Broad, A. Haigh, J. and H. Newman, Wingfield (Secretary), Brooks and G. Whitehead.

The Peace Pledge Union will visit the Boscombe Debating Society again on January 8 to discuss with the Left Book Club, "Socialists as Pacifists."

MORE MIDLAND TRIBUNAL RESULTS

Chairman on
Aid for C.O.s

AT its sitting in Birmingham on December 18 and 19, the Midland tribunal for conscientious objectors dealt with 76 cases.

None were given unconditional exemption; 55 were granted conditional exemption; 7 were placed on the military register for non-combatant service; and 4 were placed on the military register unconditionally. Ten cases were adjourned.

All non-combatant service men had expressed willingness to work in the RAMC, and in each case there was a proviso "with direction for the RAMC," which is more definite than the "recommendation" made in earlier cases.

(The decisions of this tribunal reported last week were given at Leicester on December 11 and 12.)

Chairman's Comment

On December 18, the Chairman, Judge Longson, opened the proceedings by saying that members of the tribunal had been led to believe that there was an organized coaching of applicants going on, and that further there was "the contemptible trickery of a mock tribunal" in certain places. This, he added, "makes it necessary for us to break through the veneer and varnish of artificiality before we can get down to what we have to discover—that is, the individual consciences."

Some part of this statement seemed to reflect on the local Joint Advisory Bureau of the PPU, Friends, and No Conscription League. A member has, therefore, explained to the judge that no attempt is made in the bureau to standardize the expression of men's views, but only, when freely consulted to advise and help them in expressing their own convictions in their own way. If there is any tendency to uniformity it is probably due to the active propaganda for years past of the PPU and others.

This suspicion that had arisen in the minds of the tribunal probably accounts for the more rigorous questioning of applicants on these days than on previous occasions. But this does not seem to have resulted in any difference in the type of decision given.

Manchester Decisions

Sitting from December 19 to 21 in Manchester, the North-Western tribunal gave the following decisions:—Unconditional exemption, 8; conditional exemption, 11; non-combatant service, 7; unconditionally removed from CO's register, 10. (Total, 36).

Future Tribunals

FOLLOWING are particulars of forthcoming sessions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors:

NORTH-WESTERN

In Council Chamber of Manchester Town Hall on January 2, 3, 4, and 5. (Previous hearings have been in the Assize Courts.) Sessions may start at 9.30 a.m., but this is not certain.

SOUTH WALES

In Shire Hall, Carmarthen, today (10 a.m.).

SOUTH-WESTERN

Next week, presumably in Bristol.

Anyone interested in the opening of a co-educational day and boarding school for children of all ages in Thornton le Dale, near Scarborough, Yorks, is invited to write to Lois Brown, 13 St. James' Road, Bridlington.

Dates for Your Diary

Items for inclusion in this column should contain: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address).

As it is a free service we reserve the right to select items for inclusion. Notices received after MONDAY will in any case stand very little chance of publication.

Friday, December 29

SPRINGBURN, Glasgow; 7.30 p.m. Reid Hall (Lower), Queenshill Street; advice to COs and anti-conscription discussion; No Conscription League.

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens Christmas party; PPU.

Saturday, December 30

LONDON, W.1; 2.45 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney Street, Oxford Street; conference on "Absolutism" for COs to meet COs of the last war.

HORNSEY; 4 p.m. Middle Lane Methodist Church; Regional social for PPU members.

HAMMERSMITH; 5 p.m. Friends' House, Lower Mount; business meeting, W. London Region; PPU.

HIGH WYCOMBE; 6 p.m. Westbourne Street Methodist Schoolroom; John Barclay and Rev. Leslie W. Harman (chairman); PPU and FOR.

BOURNEMOUTH; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; annual social and dance; tickets 1s. each, obtainable from the Secretary, Friends' Meeting House, Bournemouth.

KETTERING; 7 p.m. Trade Union Offices, Club Street; PPU Christmas Party; all friends invited.

Sunday, December 31

NEW BARNET; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; David K. R. Hodgskin on "Friends' Work in Germany and Austria"; Society of Friends and PPU.

Monday, January 1

EAST DULWICH; 8 p.m. Lordship Lane Baptist Chapel; John Barclay on "Aiming at Peace, not Peace Aims"; chairman, George Clark; PPU.

Tuesday, January 2

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m. Open-air meeting; Sybil Morrison; City PPU Group.

Wednesday, January 3

BAYSWATER; Dick Sheppard Centre, 52 Queensway; series on "The American Scene"; No. 1. Mr. A. Hope-Jones on Internal Affairs: Economics; PPU.

GLASGOW; 8 p.m. Bakunin Hall, Castle Street (opposite Cathedral); open meeting of No Conscription League, Central branch.

Thursday, January 4

KENTISH TOWN; 8 p.m. Youth House, 250 Camden Road; inaugural meeting of Kentish Town group; PPU.

GLASGOW; 8 p.m. Bakunin Hall, Castle Street (opposite Cathedral); "Conscientious Objection and the CO"; No Conscription League, Central branch.

NEW BARNET; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Leicester Road; W. R. Hughes on "How to beat Hitler without bombs"; PPU.

Friday, January 5

LEEDS; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Richard Ward; PPU.

SPRINGBURN, Glasgow; 7.30 p.m. Reid Hall (Lower), Queenshill Street; advice to COs, and anti-conscription discussion; No Conscription League.

GOVAN, Glasgow; 7.30 p.m. ILP Hall, 634 Govan Road; public lecture; No Conscription League.

Saturday, January 6

WORCESTER; 6 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Sansome Walk; J. R. Jenkins on "True Democracy"; PPU.

Sunday, January 7

BIRMINGHAM; 6.30 p.m. Priory Rooms, Upper Priory (near Lewis's Stores); "Stop-the-War" Crusade; Andrew Stewart and Bob Edwards; chairman, John Hoyland; No Conscription League.

Tuesday, January 9

TOWER HILL; 12.30 p.m.; Open-air meeting; Howard Whitten; City PPU Group.



Also try Essona Eau de Cologne at same price.

LETTERS

Women's Influence for Peace

MISS VERA BRITAIN in her article a fortnight ago quotes Miss Eleanor Rathbone as writing: "Progress for women has been rapid where it depends on political action, slow when it depends on changes in heart and habits."

Miss Britain, however, uses only the first half of the quotation for her deductions. The paragraph is fraught with meaning, but its whole point lies in the comparison of the types of progress. I think Miss Rathbone was emphasizing the lack of moral sensibility in the modern woman's make-up.

Her influence on man is the most important result of her moral stature and, on results, it has failed.

An analysis of this failure could be undertaken with advantage to the whole world.

Today exploitation and possessiveness are her paramount motives, carried out in varying degrees of subtlety emanating from her acute psychological awareness.

I doubt if it is necessary to detail the application of these ungenerous motives, but rather to study their far-reaching effects, and curiously enough to realize that the ultimate result on the personal relationship is disastrous fundamentally, if not conventionally.

Man's character remains dwarfed, his sensibility blunted, and the finer growths of his personality discouraged. His materialism, which needs no encouragement, is exploited by woman for personal and pseudo ends. His naturally straightforward nature is abused often coldbloodedly, and even consciously, by women who have shrewd deductive power and little moral sensibility themselves.

Broadly speaking, has not woman with her gift of acuter psychological awareness used it to keep man in spiritual subjection and dependence? Also she has been guilty, and still is, of using sex and emotionalism cheaply for such purposes, thus destroying her original capacity for breadth of vision and warmth of heart.

Is it therefore not time we considered our spiritual ungenerosity in a new light, and as a factor which contributes to war?

Otherwise man, feeling lost and incomplete, will go after false gods; one of which is physical war!

Miss Britain differentiates between women of different generations. From my knowledge of history, I find that the form of spiritual dishonesty varied, but that is all.

(Mrs.) RUTH E. MATTHEWS.

Lavender Cottage,
Westerfield,
near Ipswich.

Individuals can do a great deal of good by carrying this neat banner, "I appeal to men to stop the war for the sake of children everywhere," whenever they are able.

I noticed one woman carrying hers down Victoria Street on Saturday, attracting considerable attention. It needs more courage than when one of a procession, but an enthusiast can do that, whereas she might not be able to organize a number.

LOUISE HYNARD.

Lower Austin Lodge,
Eynsford, Kent.

I duly paraded London on December 17, with my banner, and suffered no comment from the police until late in the afternoon. However, I easily disposed of this mild objection, and was sent on my way almost with a benediction!

I do wish women generally would take up the idea—and quickly. We could create an impression probably surpassing that of a mass procession.

MARY A. TAYLOR.

24 Falkner Street, Liverpool, 8.

1916 TRIBUNALS

I am obliged to C. H. Norman (*Peace News*, December 15) for his correction of my reminiscence regarding the 1916 Central Tribunal.

Those of us who were arrested in the early stages had few opportunities of learning what was happening whilst we were in military custody, and we consequently made our first contact with the Central Tribunal at the time that that body was making inquiries, as Mr. Norman points out, into the abuses which took place in the military prisons. Hence our impression that the tribunal did not function until after we were locked up.

Mr. Norman's untiring work in the interests of 1916 COs will be remembered by all who were concerned in the cause of conscientious objection during the last war.

JAMES HENDERSON.

York.

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Due to the increased circulation of the paper this is still good value for money. Rates for displayed advertisements may be obtained on application.

"OUR WEAPON"

I AM very glad to read Middleton Murry's article on Russia and Finland (*Peace News*, December 15). I think that only the pacifist has any right to denounce Russia's invasion of Finland. Those who say we are only opposed to imperialist war and would fight for a socialist country if we had one, can hardly attack Stalin for fighting to defend Russia where capitalism has been abolished.

It is not so much Finland as Mannerheim, with his very black record that the Bolsheviks fear, and the danger of this militarist conspiring with the enemies of Russia to use the geographical position of Finland to strike at Leningrad.

Now if you admit war at all (as I do not) you must have no scruples—none whatever—or you will be beaten by unscrupulous enemies, so then you must by all means fortify the dangerous position, and since war is always atrocious, you must have no qualms about women and children, as the hypocrites pretend they have. The action of Russia is, therefore, comprehensible.

Those of us who cannot do such things, who cannot admit that the end justifies the means, must renounce armed force altogether and take the consequences. There is no middle course between war and peace. This is where the League of Nations Union has blundered so badly and has led a large part of the peace movement into the bog. "Collective security" is a will-o'-the-wisp that never had any reality. You can no more cure militarism by armed force than you can cure delirium tremens by copious draughts of whisky.

But till this truth is accepted something can be done in the meantime in removing the causes of war which are, in the main, capitalism and exploitation. These depend upon darkness, hiding their secret aims and their secret treaties as they did in the last war.

Our weapon, therefore, must be light as against the mental and spiritual black-out under which lurk murder and suicide. But to discover the truth and publish it will be hard and dangerous, for the peoples would refuse to fight if they knew the truth.

JOSEPH SOUTHALL.

13 Charlotte Road,
Edgbaston, Birmingham

What Sort of Peace?

At the present time the efforts of the Peace Pledge Union are being quite rightly directed on an intensive "stop-the-war" campaign. Now, while most of us endorse this work and will help in every way possible, may I voice certain misgivings that I cannot help but feel?

Let us assume that the war is stopped; it is quite obvious that it will be an imperialist peace, at which the interests of the Polish and other workers will receive no consideration whatsoever. Knowing this, most of us still feel that an imperialist peace is preferable to an imperialist war, but we must accept this peace only as a temporary measure. I suggest the following steps should be taken.

At the same time as the imperialist Powers meet around the table a conference of workers should be held at which pacifists would be represented. Plans for a decent peace which would enable real democracy to flourish should be devised, and intensive propaganda be undertaken. In this way, with a just offer of re-distribution of raw materials according to needs being held out, the German workers would receive a tremendous impetus to overthrow Hitler.

Once such measures were under way "World Revolution" should be the next goal. Now "revolution" is a word much abhorred by many pacifists because it conjures up a vision of barricades and machine-guns. But Bart de Ligt in *The Conquest of Violence* advocated a non-violent revolution, which, if adopted, would bring the capitalist system and capitalist morality crashing to ruins. I am convinced that revolutionary anti-militarism of this nature is our only hope.

Pacifists must not accept an imperialist peace complacently. They should also be opposed to Federal Union, which means a collective exploitation of workers at home and in the colonies by a stronger capitalist group. Federal Union does not increase liberty, it would make it more of a sham than ever.

I suggest that the peace settlement should be thoroughly thrashed out now. Are pacifists for capitalism and death, or revolution and life?

ALBERT MCCARTHY.

14 Colebrook Avenue,
Shirley, Southampton.

Churches and Peace

Your correspondent, C. D. Aldis (*Peace News*, December 15) may be interested to know that when conscription was introduced the following notice was displayed by the Rev. Barker, of Cosby, Leicestershire, P. M. Chapel, "We are not consider it right that men should be taught to kill those whom we ought to love."

After war was declared a slightly altered version containing, I believe, the word "ordered" instead of "taught."

I wrote congratulating the minister and he informed me that the board had been erected specially for that purpose, and all the committee of his church agreed with him.

I cannot call to mind any similar posters on other churches.

JAMES E. ODEY.

9 Thurlaston Lane,
Croft, near Leicester.

Marx and Dictatorship

Referring to the statement by Reginald Reynolds in our issue of November 24 that dictatorship "was implicit in the teachings of Marx and Engels," another reader writes that "this is certainly untrue" and he supports his contention with several quotations from the works of both. Unfortunately lack of space precludes the printing of the letter.

In a letter from D. J. Watson, of Reigate, printed on page 7 of our last issue, the words "dynamic energy" were erroneously printed as "dynamic enemy."

"Settle Now"

—De Valera

"THE knowledge that, in a modern war, victor and vanquished alike have to endure privations for years after the war, should urge that a settlement be sought now. It is better to seek a settlement in good will rather than wait until exhaustion has forced it."

—From a Christmas broadcast to the USA by Mr. De Valera.

No Blackout For Peace News

EVEN the blackout can't stop some people from selling *Peace News*!

We have already been informed of two enthusiasts in the London area who have devised methods of "displaying" the paper as they sell it by means of dimmed lights. One of these, Eric T. Howard, of 310 Upper Richmond Road, East Sheen, S.W.14, is prepared to advise groups how to make their own illuminated sign or even to make them to order for about 10s. each.

The most expensive part of this inexpensive device is the wood required for a box-like container of a panel of four flashlamp bulbs. The light from the bulbs shines downwards through the open bottom of the box, on to a contents bill, and also outward through the shaded cut-out letters of "PEACE NEWS."

There is also, of course, the problem of getting batteries. But Mr. Howard has a small accumulator which he carries slung over his shoulder in a tin little larger than those in which some people carry their gas masks. The frame holding the lights and contents bill is hung round the neck, and the total weight is negligible, while both hands are free for selling.

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

★

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor *Peace News* itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used.

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CUT OUT FOR RETURNS
No. 185 29.12.39

1939

(continued from page 5)

National Service (Armed Forces) Act extends conscription to all men aged 18 to 41.

Bishop of Chelmsford, as President of National Peace Council, appeals to Premier to "emphasize in concrete terms the benefits available to the German people in a negotiated peace and in the creation of a new European order."

Council of Christian Pacifist Groups declares that statement issued by a number of Church dignitaries, justifying Britain's declaration of war on Germany, does not represent whole membership of Christian Churches.

Executive Committee of National Peace Council writes to MPs, urging that in the event of a peace initiative from Hitler, the British Government should not limit itself to a "merely negative reply."

Russia invades part of Poland; in an article in *Peace News* and in a PPU leaflet, Wilfred Wellock declares that "Russia has spiked the guns," and that the war should be stopped immediately, to enable the solution of Europe's problems to be sought on new lines.

Anti-war rally in Glasgow is attended by more than 2,000 people.

Peace News circulation reaches 27,292.

PPU membership reaches 131,579.

October

Miss Mary Taylor completes lone pilgrimage from Liverpool to London, carrying banner: "For the sake of children everywhere I appeal to men to stop this war."

Letter urging that Britain should not bomb civilians is sent to Premier by Vera Brittain, Norrie Fraser, Storm Jameson, Maude Royden, Rose Simpson, and Sybil Thorndike.

Emergency meeting of representatives of British peace organizations urges that "there should be no summary rejection of proposals to end the war."

First tribunal for COs under National Service (Armed Forces) Act is held in London.

Reports of police attempts to stop pacifist propaganda reach the PPU.

Andrew Stewart, member of National Council of PPU, and Assistant Editor of *Peace News*, contests by-election at Clackmannan and East Stirling as "Stop-the-War" candidate. He is backed by Dr. Alfred Salter and Cecil H. Wilson (Labour MPs); his candidature sponsored by the Scottish Anti-War and No Conscription League Council. Result: Arthur Woodburn (Labour) 15,645; Andrew Stewart, 1,060.

Women's Peace March held in Liverpool. PPU headquarters issue half-a-million copies of first leaflet in "Stop-the-War" series.

Dr. Maude Royden resigns from National Council of PPU.

Bournemouth PPU meeting banned by police as being "likely to cause a breach of the peace."

At call-up of men between 21-22 years of age on October 21, 4,556 provisionally register as conscientious objectors. (Number of COs so far registered now equals half the total number of COs during Great War.)

Petition launched for signature by members of Labour Party, urging Labour MPs to exercise their influence in favour of an armistice and peace negotiations.

Second anniversary of the death of "Dick" Sheppard, founder of the PPU, commemorated by performance of *Little Plays of St. Francis*, in London, and by memorial service.

National Peace Council launches campaign designed to encourage Government to make precise and constructive statement of terms on which it would make peace and to announce its readiness to join at once in a peace conference. Appeal to this effect is issued for endorsement by local organizations.

Sheffield Dick Sheppard Centre opened.

Bournemouth PPU group challenge police ban on meeting previously planned (see above) by holding a crowded public meeting in same hall in which the original meeting was to have been held.

Peace News circulation reaches 35,037.
PPU membership reaches 133,908.

November

John Barclay puts forward in *Peace News* suggestion for peace demonstration by women, which meets with encouraging response.

At Armistice Day meeting in Glasgow more than 1,200 people approve resolution calling for armistice.

Mr. George Lansbury receives postcards from nearly 15,000 people supporting mediation offer of Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold.
Peace News circulation reaches 40,153.
PPU membership reaches 134,993.

December

Independent Labour Party and Communist Party each put forward anti-war candidates at Stretford by-election. Result: Conservative, 23,408; ILP, 4,424; Communist, 1,519.

Nation-wide drive to rally women to the cause of peace inaugurated with mass meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, addressed by Miss Mary Gamble, Miss Ruth Fry, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Miss Rosalind Bevan, the Mother of a CO, Miss Dorothy Evans, Mrs. Kathleen Innes, and Miss Vera Brittain, with Miss Sybil Morrison in the chair; messages urging a return to methods of reason sent to the Queen, to Queen Wilhelmina and to President Roosevelt.

Silent peace marches of women through the streets of Birmingham and Bristol are seen by thousands.

Peace News circulation reaches 39,575.
PPU membership reaches 135,754 (up to December 22—no allowance made in this figure for resignations, &c., during the month).

"Honour" and the War

(continued from page 1)

her captures of merchant ships, and in that respect Captain Langsdorf takes rank with Von Muller, of the Emden."

By contrast, the *Daily Herald* two days later wrote as if the German captain had committed suicide because he was ashamed at having to scuttle his ship instead of fighting a second time. One is inclined to ask whether the *Daily Herald* would have liked to see Captain Langsdorf adopt a course which, according to the Naval Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, would have been "plain murder."

And is there any proof that, in the circumstances, Captain Langsdorf desired to adopt a policy which he also might have believed to be "plain murder"?

The *Daily Herald* used the Graf Spee incident to strengthen hatred of Hitler and the belief that a deep gulf divides Hitler from the German people. But Hitler has enough to account for, whatever be the truth about the scuttling of the Graf Spee. That is all the more reason why truth and not propaganda should be the guide to the interpretation of events.

duce a Utopia. This is because of the inherently evil nature of war itself.

"There is, however, increasingly in evidence another view. That the war will not bring forth a better Europe, because of the inherently evil nature of the German people.

"Mr. Chamberlain said that the only quarrel we had with the German people was that they allowed themselves to be led by unscrupulous leaders. The implication being that, once freed from those leaders the German people will be ready to co-operate in a new Europe.

"But Lord Milne speaks of the 'innate brutality of the German nation as a whole.' Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton tells us, by way of encouragement, that we are fighting 88,000,000 fanatical people (in which figure he presumably includes the Czechs). And in an article in the *Daily Mail* he regrets that a British crew should cheer the crew of a German submarine, supposed to have sunk the *Courageous*, when they were being taken away to confinement.

"He observes further:

"Neither during the war, nor after, can we afford to indulge in this kind of camaraderie. . . . Well might we leave the greater part of the framing of the peace to our French ally, whose sterner logic will save him from the pitfall of a false sentimentality."

"Similarly we find an article by J. O. P. Bland in the December number of the *National Review*, in which he maintains that the Germans are naturally militaristic, for did not Tacitus observe 'nearly two thousand years ago that as a nation, 'they dislike peace, and think it dull to acquire by honest labour what they can get by bloodshed.'

"In the *Daily Telegraph* Mr. J. B. Firth presses Petrarch into service for the same good cause. There is no end to this sort of thing. Ausonius said, "No good man is a Briton." But that was only a matter of 1,600 years back.

WE are now being told that, as a result of the loss of the Graf Spee, the Germans are attacking unarmed trawlers.

Major-General Sir Ernest Swinton said of this last Thursday that "it's not war, it's sheer dirty murder." A newspaper self-righteously declared that it was "a deplorable deterioration in the conduct of the war. From terroristic air attacks on unarmed merchantmen to the bombing of civilian populations is a short and terribly easy step."

In other words we have slid a little further down a spiral. War is like that. If one side believes it is losing it tries a new weapon or a new method of attack. And its opponent is then quite prepared to do likewise, if necessary, on the plea that the others did it first.

Have we got to learn that lesson all over again in the hard school of experience, or shall we act now on the knowledge that all war is "sheer dirty murder?"

The survivors of the "Glorious Battle of the River Plate" were spared a second ordeal—to the easily imagined relief of their families in Britain and Germany. Let us extend the reprieve to a whole generation, and those who come after will say that the year 1940 saw the emergence of a finer conception of honour.

Nonsense About the German People

"E. G. B." writes:

"It is very probably true, as Lord Ponsonby says, that the war cannot pro-

WHAT are we to think of this type of writing? If it is untrue, it is an example of the kind of mentality we shall have to fight against at the end of the war. It is the kind of mentality which war brings to the surface.

"If it is the truth then of course by far the best solution of all our difficulties is to carry on with the good work until 'we bring the Germans to their knees, suing for peace' when they have received 'blow after blow, from land, sea, and air.' And then they should be kept permanently subject by a France and Britain who retain for themselves an immense superiority in armed force.

"Better still, we might do the job properly and kill the whole lot off—painlessly, of course.

"If this is really the truth we ought to be very grateful to these gentlemen for rendering an inestimable public service, and the sooner the rest of the country knows what it is in for the better.

"But the pacifist who believes that evil does not provide a cure for evil, must also believe that good can overcome evil, and can never accept the doctrine that a whole people are naturally and inevitably always going to act for the worse. If this were so there would be no excuse for any hope for the future at all.

"In conclusion then, neither the German people, nor any other people is irrevocably, inevitably and naturally wicked, and this we must assert even in defiance of Lord Milne, Sir Ernest Swinton, Mr. J. B. Firth, Mr. Bland, and Petrarch, and Tacitus."

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A group of Spanish Refugees living in London (Chalk Farm) are anxious to learn English in the hope of eventually securing work in this country.
If any readers feel equipped to offer their services voluntarily as teachers of English, will they please get in touch with Miss Ethel Mannin, Oak Cottage, Burghley Road, London, S.W.19, without delay?
The matter has to be settled before January 8th, when they will otherwise start a course at a local Institute.

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